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A SERIOUS  
ADDRESS  
TO THE  
ELECTORS  
OF  
GREAT-BRITAIN.

IN WHICH

The Conduct and Designs both of the  
COURT and COUNTRY PARTIES are im-  
partially represented and consider'd : And  
such Gentlemen pointed out, as are most  
deserving of the Favour of the ELECTORS,  
in the approaching Choice of their RE-  
PRESENTATIVES.

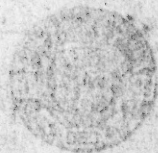
*Iustum & tenacem propositi Virum  
Non Civium Ardor, prava iuventium,  
Non Vultus Instantis Tyranni  
Mente quatit solida—*

Hor. L. III. Car. 3.

L O N D O N

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offered to you, and the Advice proposed to you in the following Sheets.

THIS I have the greater Right to demand from you, as I am attached to *no Party whatever*, have no *private Interest* to serve, have neither *Expectations* from the *Friendship*, nor *Fears* from the *Power* of any *present* Minister, or any *future* one; but am actuated only by a Zeal to serve my Country, and that not in a trifling Instance; but, if I am so fortunate as to have you (in whose Power *only* it is) heartily concur with me in my Wishes, perhaps to save it from the impending Ruin, with which on all Sides it seems to be environed. For the Sincerity of my Intentions, and the Truth of this Affeuration, I appeal to that great GOD, who is the Searcher of all our Hearts, and penetrates into our most secret Thoughts. To His Judgment I submit myself at present, as, at the End of this Address, I shall be willing to do to that of the *whole World*: For as no *private Ends* can be served, and no *Side* can bear to hear the *Truth*, I may safely predict,

predict, that no *Party* will adopt me as a Writer on *their* Side the Question.

THE great Occasion I speak of, which is the Reason of my addressing you at this Juncture, is the approaching general Election of Representatives of the People of this Nation, to sit in the grand Council of the Kingdom, and there, as one of the three Bodies that compose the Legislative Power, to enact such Laws as may tend either to the well governing, or overthrowing of the Common-weal. The Choice of these Representatives of the People is vested in *you* : A Trust great and important at *all* Times, and which *always* demands your utmost Care and Vigilance to execute with Fidelity, and which perhaps never more loudly called for both, than at *present*.

THIS Power, so lodged in your Hands, sets you in a Point of View, that draws on you the Eyes of all *Europe*, which is attentive to your present Conduct ; and much more the Eyes of all your *Countrymen*, who are more nearly concerned, for

by it their *Properties*, their *Liberties*, nay their *Lives*, may be said to be committed to *your* Charge ; they have a Right to demand them at *your* Hands, and surely will no longer neglect to assert that Right. Yourselves are still *more* deeply engaged, for, besides these common Privileges of your Brethren, your *Honour* is at Stake, and the future Share you will have in the general *Esteem*, or *Odium*, of Mankind will, and ought to, depend on your Choice in this Crisis. You are the *immediate Guardians* of all that is dear to us. To YOU we lift up our *Eyes* and our *Hands* for *Preservation* and *Protection* : For it will be in vain to expect Redress from *those*, to whose Charge you are pleased to consign us, if *you* betray us ; if *you*, blinded by *Party*, *Pique*, *Friendship*, or, what is as powerful as any of these, *Interest*, suffer yourselves to be so far misled, as to make Choice of unworthy Trustees. With what Face can you blame *them* for *Corruption* (should it ensue) if *That* is their *sole* Recommendation to your Favour, and is the *only* Means of their Election ? Do not *you* set them the Example, and will the  
selling



selling their Vote be a worse Crime in *them*, than it is in *you* at their Election? What else can you expect from Men, who have given you such convincing Proofs, of their not holding a Bribe in that Detestation, which the Nature of the Thing exacts from all *honest* Minds? A Man that can prevail with Himself to *buy* the Conscience of *another*, will not long hesitate about the *selling* his *Own*. It is the very *next* Step in the Scale of Corruption: It is your Duty, therefore, to pitch upon such Men, who, by their declining the *first*, at least give you Reason to hope, that they abhor the *last*.

I AM sensible it is a very difficult Task to get quit of *Prejudices*; and yet, perhaps, it is still more difficult to persuade one's self to forego, what appears to be, a *present* Advantage. But, for God's Sake Gentlemen, what Reward is sufficient to compensate for the *Ruin* of one's *Country*; in which every Man's *private* Ruin is so closely connected, that he must ultimately stand or fall with it? Is *Ten*, or *Twenty*, or *Fifty* Pounds, attended with *Poverty*,  
*Distress*,

*Distress, Shame, and Slavery afterwards, an Equivalent for a flourishing Trade, a prosperous Condition, Honour, and Liberty? Will such a Sum, or even a much greater, provide Bread for your Families for the Remainder of your Lives? Will it deafen your Ears against the just Reproaches, the Taunts and Insults of your betray'd Townsmen, Neighbours, Friends, and Relations? Will it stop the piercing Cries of your Children, when Begging for Bread, and Cursing you as the Authors of their then miserable Condition? I would not be understood to say, that this must unavoidably be the Case, for I would not aggravate our Misfortunes; but I do aver that it may be the Case, and it is the Part of prudent and honest Men, to provide against every the least Chance of so calamitous a Condition, by a wise and well-concerted Choice of Members, to serve in the approaching Parliament.*

I HAVE set the Consequences that may possibly, nay, will, very probably, arise from a contrary Choice, in a strong Light, on purpose, if possible, to awaken you from

from that general Supineness, that universal Lethargy, in Regard to the Public Good, which seems in a strange Manner to have infected, and lulled asleep the whole Kingdom : And to rouse you to a becoming Resolution, to oppose (now you have the Power) those Dangers that threaten us from our present Situation : Which I shall endeavour to represent to you, as impartially as I am able.

OUR present Circumstances, it must be acknowledged, afford but a very unpleasing melancholy Prospect. We are already at open War with one Foreign Enemy : How soon we may be engaged with another, or whether we are not already, is not for me to determine, from Want of a sufficient Knowledge in our Foreign Negotiations : However, thus far we may say, that it deserves our Consideration. We are abandoned to Vice and Corruption, devoured by Luxury, and divided by Factions at Home. As to our Foreign Dangers, I shall pass them over, not being versed in the Politicks, Interests, or Designs of the Courts at Home or Abroad :  
Besides,

Besides, I apprehend but little Danger from that Quarter at present, in Comparison of what threatens us from *within*; unless the joint Concurrence of our intestine Miseries, which prey upon our Vitals at Home, by weakening ourselves, may make that Enemy comparatively strong enough to annoy us, who was formerly, and still ought to be, our Contempt.

OUR Dangers from within are of another Kind; and are of a much more poisonous and destructive Nature. They are such, as if not timely prevented, will wear out our Constitution, and our Body Politick must yield to them, as our Natural Bodies do to mortal Distempers neglected and trifled with. The chief Spring and Fountain-Head, from which all our other dangerous Symptoms derive their Origin, is, that total Disregard to Virtue, which reigns among us in this degenerate Age to such a Degree, as to make it, if not scandalous, at least ridiculous, for a Man to shew he possesses any Share of it. All Appearances of it, and any Pretensions to it, must be laid aside, to become fashionable.

The



The utmost Licentiousness is no longer infamous. He that shews any Regard for his Fellow-Creatures, and does not turn their Wants to his own private Advantage, is treated as an Idiot, and one that does not know how to live in the World. To sneer indiscriminately at Things laudable, or reproachful, is the reigning Taste among the Wits of the Age; and he that excells most in it, is esteemed the Man of the greatest Parts. Publick Spirit is in a most languishing Condition, it is almost laughed out of Doors, and dare scarce shew its Head. Any Attempt to reform the Manners of the Age, or redress the Grievances of the State, is looked upon as a romantick Piece of *Don-Quixotism*. The Laws, perhaps, some of the best among them, are trampled upon; and the endeavouring to put them in Execution, is sure to draw on the Person, who engages in so laudable a Design; the most opprobrious Names known in our Language. He is immediately compared to the publick *Informers*, employed by some of the *Roman* Emperors, to be Spies

on the few great Men left at that Time among the *Roman* People ; and meets with worse Treatment than the greatest Enemy of the State : By these Means, worthy Men are frightened from exerting their Authority, and the Execution of our Laws is left to the lowest of the People. To incur the Penalties inflicted on those who break the Laws, immediately becomes a Merit, and meets with Pity, not only from the Multitude where one might *expect* it, but even from Persons of a more exalted Station, from whom one ought *not* to expect it : But this, perhaps, is in some Measure owing to the Parties, into which we are unhappily divided, and of which I shall speak at large hereafter.

THIS Depravity of Manners, attended with a Disregard to Religious Principles of any Sort, is not confined to the inferior Part of the Nation ; but spreads itself like an Infection through all Ranks. The *greatest* among us are not exempt from the Charge of it. Our *Magistrates* and *Governors*, far from setting the Example their

their Station requires, live in an open and avowed Contempt of Religion. The very Appearances are not preserved with any Decency. Not to trouble you with many Instances, let it suffice, to take Notice only of the shameful Neglect in the Observance of *Sundays*. A due Attendance to the Duties of that Day, would probably keep Mankind tolerably right; from their having (one Day in seven, at least) the Sense of their Duty to their Creator, and their Fellow-Creatures, fresh imprinted in their Minds, &c. Here I am at a Loss, whether, more to deplore our unhappy Circumstances, or admire at the Absurdity of this very impolitick Proceeding. The wisest Legislators, and Ministers, of all former Ages, and all Countries, have found it necessary to encourage Religious Notions, and establish some Sort of Religion among the People they governed. They knew that Human Laws could only affect Facts of which they could get Evidence; and therefore it was necessary to have some superior Tie on the Minds of Men, which

might influence their Inclinations and Intentions; otherwise, Society would be but very ill preserved. To this End, they even encouraged and propagated Notions, among the Vulgar, which from Reason, one would suppose, Men of their Wisdom could not believe themselves; and which, from nicely comparing their Writings, it is supposed they did not. Of such Use did they unanimously think Religion to be of, to make Men better Subjects, that for Want of a *Good* one, rather than have none, they took Pains to inculcate a *Bad* one. If we allow their concurring Authority to be of any Weight, we must be acknowledged to be in a very wrong Way. If they had any Knowledge in the Arts of Government, every Community, or Society, will find themselves but little obliged to such Persons, as shall endeavour, either by their Writings, or Example, to root out any Set of Opinions, whether true or false, that have a Tendency to promote *Virue* in the Minds of Mankind, without establishing some other, equally efficacious to that End, in  
their



their Stead. It is pulling down our Hedges and Fences, and laying all open to the Violence of the Robber. The Authors and Abettors of such Practices, ought justly to be looked upon, and treated as the very worst, and most dangerous Subjects, to the Government to which they belong.

THIS naturally leads me to say something of that Religion, which, by repeated Acts of our Government, is established among us in these Kingdoms. As to the Truth or Falshood of the Christian Revelation, I shall not take upon me to discourse of here, as being beside my present Purpose ; but shall leave it for every Man to determine upon for himself, as he shall see Reason, after a strict and impartial Examination of the Credibility of it. This is every Man's Duty to enquire into, and I apprehend it will not suffer by such a severe Scrutiny. However, thus much must be said for it, even by its Opposers ; that it undoubtedly contains a Set of Precepts and Maxims, which have a natural

tural Tendency to promote *Morality* among us ; to make Men better *Sons* and better *Fathers*, better *Servants* and better *Masters*, better *Subjects* and better *Governors*, than we should be without it : And, on that Account at least, ought to claim the Protection and Encouragement of those, whose Charge it is to conduct us ; till they supply the Want of it, with something at least as productive of these good Ends. I may further add an Argument of another Kind, which perhaps may have more Weight than the former, which is this : That it is at present so blended with our Constitution, as not to be separated from it, and is so principal a Part of the whole Structure, that it cannot fail, without drawing the other in Ruins after it.

It is a commonly received, but erroneous Opinion, that the World is deeper immerged in Vice and Iniquity, every Day than other : But this I hope and believe is not a Fact : God forbid it should ! The Case rather appears to be this : Virtues and Vices, like all other Things, have

have their Periods and Fashions : And if some Vices grow enormous, and stare us in the Face, other Virtues flourish and charm us with their Beauty : But some Kinds of Vices are more destructive of the Liberties and Happiness of Societies than others ; and of this Sort, I fear, are the Vices of the present Age: Of this Sort were the Vices that destroyed the *Roman* Commonwealth. If *Liberality* and *Clemency* did then and do now prevail, they were then, and are now, attended by their concomitant Vices, *Luxury* and *Corruption* : These, at that Time, proved the Ruin of the *Romans*, and we have too much Reason to fear, these threaten the Ruin of the *Britons* at present : But of each of these I shall speak particularly in their Order.

AND first of *Luxury*, which is a leading Step to the other, and is become universal among us. This was at first a Vice belonging to the *Great* only ; but as Mankind naturally tread in the Steps of those, whom a large Fortune, or any other Accident, has set in a Rank of Life, which,  
in

in the Eye of the World, is supposed to be superior to their own, and take such for their Patterns; it has now, by a slow Progress, crept through all Degrees of Men, and has at last descended to the very lowest of the People, which it has infected to a Degree scarce credible in any other Country. The Art of living well, and indulging our Appetites of all Kinds, is now, I fear, the only Study of the Great. The Welfare of the State, and the Happiness of Mankind, are Considerations not worthy the Care, or fit to interrupt the Pleasures of any Man who knows how to enjoy Life. Is not a Soop's being well made of more Consequence, than the Poor's having or not having a Bit of Bread to eat? Is the adorning of a Coat in the *Parisian* Taste, or any *French* Foppery to be neglected, that our own Poor may have where withal to cover their Nakedness? Else why is our Money expended to import *French* Cooks, and *French* Cloaths, to the Shame, Reproach, and impoverishing our own Nation, and the enriching Theirs? Was this profuse Ex-

pence



pence confined to the People of the most affluent Fortunes, and highest Stations, there would not be so much Room for Complaint, as I fear there is at present : Though even these ought to consider, that their Situation sets them as Examples or Patterns, which the rest of the World will unavoidably follow ; and that these Expences (if ever suffered to be put in Practice) ought at least to be confined to the superfluous Part of a Man's Estate, and not be made the very Means of lessening it : But the Grievance does not stop here, private Gentlemen of moderate Fortunes must ape their Betters, if not in every Particular, at least in the General, so as to injure their Fortunes, and render themselves distressed, by out-living their Estates ; by which Means, the Independency of the Yeomanry of this Kingdom, which used to be the Glory and Support of it, is so far impaired, as to be in Danger of being utterly lost. The Poor have, by imitating their Superiors, acquired a Taste of Pleasures, which their Callings cannot supply them with the Gratification

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of ;

of ; therefore they must make Use of any Means, lawful or unlawful, to purchase them. If the most ingenious among them can in three Days furnish themselves with a Sufficiency for six, the Remainder of the Week is spent in Idleness and Debauchery ; so that they return to work again with the same Poverty, as when they first began in the World ; and, by so doing, are constantly in the Power of the Great. By what Means this at first got Footing among us, I will not take upon me to determine : Perhaps, as it is now visibly continued, *viz.* by the Practice of Travelling, which our Youth of greatest Quality and Riches, at present, universally follow. At their Entrance into Manhood, when they first throw off the Restraint of School-Masters and Governors, they learn to live at Ease and Riot, in those Countries, where the Policy of the Government encourages the People in Pleasures, that they may not think of their Condition ; in Extravagance, that they may not have Power to mend it ; but by keeping themselves poor, they may be destitute of the Means of opposing

posing the oppressive Scheme of their Governors. It is no Wonder that Youth, thus educated, return Home intoxicated with the Gayeties and Debaucheries of Foreign Courts: With *French* Fashions they im-bibe *French* Maxims, so that, however absurd it may appear, it is no uncommon Sight to see a travelled Man so ignorant of the Blessings of Liberty, as to mistake the very Essence and Use of it; and far from considering it in its true Light, that of securing the Properties of all Men, and giving the poorest Man Redress, against the Oppressions of the most powerful, look upon that Man as the most free, who can, uncontrouled, debauch most Women, and commit most Disorders of all Kinds: Thus they confound Liberty with the greatest Licentiousness. Nay, some of them, and I fear not a few, are so mean-spirited, as willingly to surrender their Liberty to their Superiors, provided they may tyrannize over their Inferiors; and, what is still more monstrous, are so degenerate, as publickly to avow this, in all Companies, to be the most eligible Situation in Society. Fit

Members these of a *British* Senate! If any of this Stamp should at any Time hereafter, unhappily for this Nation, succeed to a Seat in the *Upper House*, we have in that Case no Redress, and can only lament our Misfortune : But the bare Possibility of such a Thing's happening there, ought to put you on your strictest Guard to prevent, as much as in you lies, any such from obtaining a Seat in the *Lower House*, from which you have a Power to exclude them. I don't doubt but you will have Numbers of this Class, who, with strong Sollicitations in their Behalf, will offer themselves as Candidates at the approaching Election. How proper such Men are to be Guardians of our Liberty, and how long we are to expect it, if committed into such Hands, yourselves are competent Judges. But to return : As this Inundation of Luxury was first brought in upon us by the Example of Persons in high Stations, it is to be hoped, that some of these will find the Love of their Country glow in their Breasts with a sufficient Warmth, to induce them to get one of a contrary Kind ;



Kind ; for as the Evil evidently has done, so the Cure must come, from above. Did they but consider the Influence a few of the first Nobility, who should heartily set themselves about this Work, would undoubtedly have over the Minds and Manners of private Persons ; I cannot but think they would strive, with as much Ambition, to be foremost in the promoting this great and glorious Work, as they now do to shine at a *Birth-Night Ball*. The Thing is as laudable in itself, and at least as much *Content* will attend it at present, and as much *Fame* hereafter. If this should fail, we have still a Resourse left us in *You*, which is to give us a Legislature (so far as you are concerned in the composing it) who, by wholesome Laws, will restrain this monstrous Profuseness of Expence amongst us ; and so save us from pursuing this Road to our Ruin : For it is but too evident, that the extreme Poverty of the lowest Sort, and the Incumbrances and Distresses attending the Fortunes of the Better, must naturally tend to subject all, to that Bane of Liberty, *Corruption*. This  
Effect

Effect of *Luxury* is, I fear (as is generally the Case) as epidemick as its Cause, and as publick too. Those Deeds which, when practised by our Ancestors, were always acted with the utmost Secrecy, and with great Caution, for fear the Person, to whom any Thing of that Kind was tendered, should not with Patience bear the Mention of such a Proposal, are now done in the Face of Day; neither the Giver or Receiver blushing at the Practice. All Laws, made to suppress it, are universally allowed to be of no Effect. It has taken such deep Root in our Constitution, as in some Measure to endanger the Constitution itself, to endeavour to extirpate it; and yet will most certainly, like a Gangreen, destroy it, if speedy and effectual Medicines are not applied. To such a Degree of Venality are we grown, that every Tradesman thinks it absolutely necessary to bribe our favourite *Servants* and *Dependants* for our *Custom*. No second Favour, no Civility is expected from any Man, where the *Gratification* has not so immediately and certainly followed the  
*first,*

*first*, as by Custom to become, really tho' not verbally, a Promise before-hand. In most Affairs of a publick Nature, *Corruption* is the secret Spring that moves the whole Machine. And tho' it has not yet, blessed be God, invaded our Courts of *Judicature*, and they are still left free from its baneful Influence, as far as our Justice is concerned, so that Punishments are not unjustly inflicted, nor Offenders illegally cast; yet after such Conviction, I fear it takes Place too much, in relation to our *Mercy*. Is an Offender pardoned, or punishment remitted, it is too frequently at the Intercession of those, who think *some* *Interest* may be served by such Proceeding, and make that *use* of their Lenity.

THERE is not an Election of the meanest Officer in the Kingdom, where Corruption does not shew itself barefaced. This Proneness to Venality and Prostitution among us equals, if not exceeds, that of all former Ages, and is scarce to be parallel'd in History, except among the *Romans*

*mans* in *Jugurtha's* Time, who, on leaving *Rome*, made this memorable Speech,  
 " Farewel, thou Venal City, how soon  
 " would'st thou be enslaved, if a Man  
 " were found rich enough to buy thee."

It is remarkable, that this was but a small Distance of Time before they were enslaved, and their Credit of Course began to diminish in the World. Let us take Warning by their Example; save us, you that have now Power in your Hands to do it, from being betrayed by Men that will sell

your bare Thought, of the Use evil  
 your governors might make of  
 an *impious* *insult*, is enough to terrify  
 the *Mind*. *are* to be *bought*, the  
*entire* Means in their  
*audacious* us; as must ap-

the following Account,  
 I was in their Gift Disposal of  
 here, that is Value Three Millions a  
 of the Hands should not be sufficient,  
 violent *is* provided with an exorbitant  
 Civil List, out of which large Allowances  
 may be made, only for *Presents* upon  
 emergent Occasions, but also for *Annual*  
*Pensions*,



*Pensions* to such as have more Modesty than Virtue, or whose Situation and Office is of such a Kind, that they could not perform the Services required at their Hands, if they were *known* to receive any Emolument from the Government. Out of this, the Sum of † 422,356 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* a Year, at least, may be enjoyed, compatibly with a Seat in either one or the other House of Parliament, and may be so disposed of: The rest may be dispersed among such, as either have in themselves, or can procure Interest in the E. or P. Members to serve in Parliament. There is the Income of twenty-six Bishops, which may be given, as to sure of at least twenty Votes in the House; and the whole Revenue of Benefices and Livings. Add to a Government has in its Disposal, the Committances on Excise and Customs at Ports, and among the several

† This Sum is taken from the List of Placemen, published after the Debate on the *Corruption*.

and Handicraftsmen employed in the Service of the Government and Governors. What Havock this Weight of Power, lodged in wicked and corrupt Hands, might make, if applied to our Destruction, among a People jostling and crowding with gaping Mouths and open Hands, to receive every the *least* Price of Prostitution, I own gives me Horror, as I think it must to every true *Englishman*, whenever I reflect on it. NOW is the Time for you to exert your Spirit, and shew yourselves *Honest Britons*, by returning such Members, as will with Scorn reject any Offers that may be made them to betray the Trust lodged in them by their Country, with just indignation spurn at the

OF

be understood to mean  
 er should be taken out  
 at the Government, as some  
 Writers have insinuated. No, the  
 Affairs of Government cannot be carried on  
 without a sufficient Power lodged in the  
 Head, to enforce the Execution of the  
 Laws,

Laws, and even to reward those that deserve well of the State. But here it is necessary to have a *due Ballance* preserved. It is to be observed, that the People of *Great-Britain* are so far vested in the Supreme Authority, that no Law can take Place without their Concurrence, by their Representatives chosen by themselves: It is the Duty of these Representatives of the People to delegate a sufficient Power to the Chief Magistrates, for the Purposes above mentioned, to protect and preserve their Constituents; but if at any Time, by their own Lavishness of Grants, or by any other accidental Course of Things, this Power should grow so great as to endanger the Liberties of the People, for whose Sake only, and not for the Grandeur of any one or Number of Men, this Power ought to be granted; then it is Time for them to be upon their Guard, and to restrain their Hands. A due Attention to these Circumstances will at the same Time give *Authority* to the *Ministry*, and *Security* to the *People*,

ANOTHER Grievance we labour under is, that Violence of *Party* into which we are miserably divided. I may here be thought to deviate from all Political Writers, who have considered our Divisions as our greatest Security. I am ready with them to grant, that a well-formed Party founded on good Principles, who have always their Eye attentive to the Welfare of the People, is our greatest Security against any destructive Schemes, which may be projected by any wicked Member of the Common-wealth, who has Art enough to get admitted into the Administration of Affairs ; to which *every* Government, as well as *this*, is liable. Nay, I will allow, that the most *unreasonable* and *factionous Opposition*, that ever was formed against an Administration, is better than *none* at all, as it is always a *Bugbear* to a Minister, and may prevent his attempting any violent Measures. But then, because we have *something* which is better than *nothing*, let us not be content with it in its *worst* Shape, but be emulous to have it in its *best*, and  
set



set it on a right Footing. In what State our present Parties are, a closer Examination will lead us to determine.

WHATEVER Distinctions our Party Divisions have formerly bore, the whole Nation seems now divided into two leading Factions, which are distinguished by the Names of the *Court* and *Country Parties*, or *Ministerialists* and *Patriots*, as they are sometimes called. In these two are confusedly blended together all other former Distinctions. The first is composed, partly of such who by Interest are linked to the present Administration; far be it from me to imagine the whole Strength of the Party lies in these: No, to them are joined many of the Old *Whigs*, who were zealous in promoting the *Hanover* Succession, and now stand by the present Administration, even in some Things which, perhaps, they do not approve, as the surest Means of supporting the present Family on the Throne. The other Party is still a greater *Jumble*; it being composed of all the discontented Men in the Kingdom;  
some

some of the same Old *Whigs*, who stick steady to their former Principles of opposing any Encroachments of the Crown, on whose-ever Head it is placed; to these are added all the *Tories* and professed *Jacobites*. These last are a Set of People I cannot speak of with tolerable Temper: They live under a Government, in which they enjoy all the Privileges of the Community, and to which they have not only *once* sworn Allegiance, but are ready to *repeat* it when demanded; yet are constantly at Work to undermine it, so may be said to *live a perpetual Lye*. An OATH is an Appeal to the Omniscient Author of Nature for the Truth of what we are saying, and is, besides, the only Security of a *British* Subject; our *Properties*, our *Lives*, depend upon it, and are at the Mercy of any who dares to violate it: What Credit is then to be given to such Men, who, through the whole Tenour of their Lives, commit *daily Perjury*? How much more amiable is the Character of the Honest *Nonjuror*, who submits to some temporal Disadvantages, rather than hazard an Oath

he

he cannot approve? How infinitely less dangerous to the Society and Government under which he lives?

BUT to return from this Digression, which perhaps has carried me into too great Warmth. These Parties, however opposite they may seem, or may have been represented to you, have the self-same Views: Nothing is so like the Conduct of the *one* Party, as that of the *other*: They both make Use of *any* unlawful Means to attain their Ends: They both ready and active, to screen the most enormous Faults of their own side, and to remark severely on the minutest of the other, without any Distinction of *Right* or *Wrong*, but only as it serves the favourite Points they have in View: They neither of them stick at any Assertion, which seems to forward any Scheme they are driving at, tho' it is but a *Lye of a Day*, Witness the publick daily Papers wrote on *each Side* the Question: They neither of them require any other Virtue, or any further Merit in their Adherents, but a strict Attachment

attachment to their Cause : In all publick  
 Assemblies, where they are to give their  
 Voice, you are sure to find them *both*  
 vote Plumb after their Leaders ; nay, a-  
 ny Man that dares to deviate from this  
 Rule, and vote according to his Consci-  
 ence, becomes their Contempt. This na-  
 turally leads me to consider them in their  
 publick and parliamentary Capacity. Here  
 the most useful and beneficial Acts have  
 been dropped, rather than *either* will add  
 one Jot to the Power of the *other* : Wit-  
 ness the *Registry Bills*. So sure  
 is every Man's Opinion rated, that nothing  
 is more common, than for Members of  
*each* Party, by mutual compact, to stay  
 away from the House on any grand Quest-  
 ion, and previously knowing how every Man  
 will vote, before the Question comes to  
 be debated, or even before it is brought  
 into the House : A shocking Considerati-  
 on this for their Constituents ! But let us  
 examine the Conduct of each Party for  
 some Years back a little more particularly,  
 by which we may be better able to judge  
 of the Merit of each, and their Designs.  
 And



And this will be doing no Injury to either, for their Conduct in Parliament has been so often and publicly approved, by the respective Parties, that it may with great Justness be taken for the Sense of the Parties themselves.

THE *Majority* has for many Years been composed of such as are called of the *Court Party*, and have never once deserted their Leaders. They have been so complaisant, as to give *every Thing* that has been asked at their Hands, and have shew'd themselves firmly attached to the Will of the Ministry, of that Ministry,—who, during their Administration, have granted to the Crown a larger *Civil List* than was known in former Days—Who have introduced and continued *Septennial Parliaments*—Who have never thought proper to repeal the *Riot Act*, which perhaps was necessary at the Time it was first made—Who have always found a Pretence for keeping up a numerous *Body of Forces*, during a Peace of almost thirty Years—Who, during that Time of Peace, have paid off but a Trifle of the *National Debt*—Who have

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always

always evaded any Enquiries into the *State of the Nation*, or *Abuses of the Revenues*—Who have always used their Endeavours to screen any *petty Officer* from Parliamentary Enquiry, and never once brought any Plunderer of the Publick to Justice—Who have made a *Seat in Parliament* the only Means of obtaining a *Place*, and the Voting Right *there* the only Means of *keeping* it—Who in most of their Promotions have never considered any Merit, but have provided for People of infamous Characters; and have even raised to High Stations, and Offices of Great Trust, *such* as their Country have thought worthy of Punishment, and that to the Prejudice of People of more Experience and greater Abilities—Who have seldom or never regarded the *Voice of the Nation* in any of their Transactions—Who have constantly rejected any Attempts made to take off the Influence of Places in the House of Commons—Who have made it a Maxim, in passing the most Salutary Laws, to get, if possible, a fresh Acquisition of Power or Profit to the Crown: Witness the *Gin Act* (a Restraint so necessary for the Healths,

Healths, Morals, and Religion of the inferior Sort, that, unless effectual Care be some Way taken in Relation to it, our Body Politick seems to be in great Danger)—Who, now that Act is passed, are so mean-spirited, as to be deterred from putting it vigorously in Execution, by the insolent Opposition of their Enemies—Whose chief Favourites are People of debauched Lives and dissolute Characters—And who, to sum up all, have never omitted any one Action, to strengthen and preserve themselves in Power, *as if that* the *only* Point they have in View from Parliaments thus proposed, *the* Will of a Minister, and which have already gone such Lengths to do it, Why should we suppose they would stop short here, if *more* was asked from them? So that I can't help looking upon it as a great Blessing to this Nation, that the Prince on the Throne and his Ministry have been so reasonable in their Demands. If they had asked for a Vote to enable his Majesty to raise Money and levy Forces, without the Consent of Parliament, and without being accountable to it; I would not have

answered for the Consequences. If that had been the Case, and we had a Prince of a different Temper on the Throne, one who would have employed this Money and these Forces against his Subjects, How should we have attempted to have helped ourselves, with a *Riot*, a *Black*, and a *Smuggling* Act hanging over our Heads? Acts which the Flagitiousness of the Times might make absolutely necessary, but which would nevertheless be terrible Weapons in the Hands of an Evil Minister, and by which a Designs to recover our Liberty might be shed in the Beginning, and our towards't made a Capital Crime, by Laws of own Enacting. Where could we have looked for Redress, or from whom could we hope it, unless from that very *Army* of which we are jealous, who, in former Days, have hitherto always acted like Men of true Honour and Spirit; upon all such Occasions, and have deserted the Prince to protect the People, whenever their Interests have come in Competition. But if a Practice should be introduced of making a Vote in Parliament the Test of a Man's Honour



Honour and Abilities in a Military Command, our Hopes would soon be cut off *there* too.

THE Distress the Generality of this Nation find themselves under at present, is, I know, charged upon the Ministry, as owing to their Mismanagement. It has always been the Practice of the People in all Countries, when they find themselves oppressed with Misfortunes, to lay the Cause of them on their Governors; but God forbid I should tax                    Ian with what does not immed<sup>i</sup>                    him; let us not, for the S<sup>e</sup>                    throwing the Weight from                    our own Shoulders, load them with what does not certainly belong to them; they have enough to do to support what ought justly to be laid upon them. This Grievance arises from various concurring Causes, but chiefly from our own not having Resolution enough to *retrench our Expences*, at the Time our *Incomes* are lessening. Can the *Reduction* of the *National Interest* be called a Crime in the Ministry, even in the Opinion of its most professed Enemies? Then how can  
this

this be imputed as a Fault in them any otherwise, than as they have indeed taken no one Step to discourage this Prodigality among us.

THE *Opposition* that has been made to the Measures of the Ministry, you may perhaps think a sufficient Security against any Dangers here suggested: To set you right in this Particular, let us, in its Turn, examine this *Opposition*, and the Conduct of its Members, during the same Term of Years.

THEY are styled the *Country Party*, but more properly *Members in the Opposition*, for such literally and ly has it been. Their Rule of Action seeming to be to oppose any Question, proposed by the Ministry, be it what it will. As the chief Aim of the *Court Party* appears to be to *keep themselves in Power*; so that of the *Country Party* is to *get into Power*, upon the Ruin of the present Possessors of it. To effect this, their Scheme is to distress the Ministry as much as possible, and without considering the Merits

Merits of the Question in Debate, or making *Right* and *Wrong* at all the Rule of their Action, are sure to vote on the contrary Side from the Ministry. They are equally ready to be sent for to vote when it comes to a Pinch, without ever learning what the Question is. If it is objected on one Hand, that the *Majority* have on controverted Elections always voted in their Friends as legally chosen ; it is no less sure on the other, that the *Minority* have as constantly voted such Elections illegal : The Merits of the Cause are not regarded on *either* Side. As it is highly improbable that every Scheme, whether great or trifling, of one Set of them should *always be right*, so it is much more improbable, that they should *always be wrong* ; yet have the *Country Party* never failed to oppose every one. Foolish Men ! not to consider that in Policy they ought *sometimes*, at least, to come into the Measures of the Administration, meerly to *add Weight* to their *Opposition*, when they do oppose them. They little think what Dignity a constant Adherence to Truth and Reason in their Deliberations reflects on those, who have  
Virtue

Virtue enough to put it in Practice ; what Force it adds to their Counsels and Opinions. A few, a very few in either House, who throwing aside all Party View, all Pique and Resentment, and acknowledging no other Bond of Union among themselves, but that of *common Honesty and Integrity*, should act and vote, uniformly and vigorously, according to the Dictates of their Reason, and the true Interest of their Country, would, I am well persuaded, have more Influence *without* Doors, and carry more Terror *within*, than the most powerful Faction, composed of the ablest Heads of the Kingdom, could do, by acting in *any other* Manner. I have always considered it, as one of the greatest Pieces of good Fortune which has attended this Ministry, That they have had to do with *such an Opposition*. Would a *Minority*, headed by *Pym's, Hampden's,* and *Ludlow's*, have struggled for Years, and got to be within fourteen of the *Majority* ; would they, I say, at *such* a Juncture, shamefully and ignominiously have deserted the Cause, and left the Nation to be governed by People whom they thought evil  
and



and wicked Governors, without any Controul ? Would they even have continued a *Minority* to the End of the Parliament ? No, they would have succeeded. The Nation, at that Time of Day, lent them their Assistance, because it was confidently believed, they had the publick Welfare at Heart. But this is not the Case now (would to God it was) and because it is not, the Men, the most eminent for Virtue and Disinterestedness in the present Age, sit still and engage in *no Party*, lend their helping Hand to *neither*, as thinking neither worthy to be served, or that it is of any Consequence to themselves, or the Interest of the Nation, *which Side* is uppermost. Instead of such a well-formed Opposition, we have seen this Fence of our Liberties shamefully prostituted to private Animosities, and a Thirst of Power. It has through its whole Course been conducted with Heat and Violence, and has pursued this Maxim, as the Rule of its Proceeding (*viz.*) to make bold Assertions, and deal in general Invectives, when Facts have failed. Its Members have been urged to this, some from private Resentment,

F                      others,

others, from Party Zeal, which, strong as it is, was not yet of Force enough to influence all of that Side (to their Honour be it always remembered) in their *last memorable Attack*; than which nothing could be more frivolous, nothing worse concerted. Besides, an Opposition of such Men is not a Security against a designing Minister; for if he finds he wants Numbers on any emergent Occasion, To whom should he apply? To such as make the Guidance of their Conscience the Rule of their Voting? No, these are not for his Purpose; their Rule of Action is stubborn, and will not give Way; but it is natural for him to make Application to such, as give him daily Proofs of their having Consciences which will let them vote Plumb on that Side the Question on which they are listed: The Transition from one to the other is easy, and every Day's Experience confirms the Truth of this Observation.

ANOTHER Name this Party is sometimes distinguished by, is that of *Patriots*: A Name they seem extremely fond of appropriating to themselves, and no Wonder

der they should, for it is one of the most glorious Appellations we can be distinguished by. It is a Name which implies, that we, divesting ourselves of all private and interested Views, have nothing at Heart but the Interest, Welfare, and Happiness of our Countrymen : For these, a Patriot is supposed to sacrifice his own Pleasures, and, if Circumstances require it, his own Fortune. It is a Name which betokens universal Benevolence. But be not deceived with empty Words and Titles : How well this Party deserves the Name of *Patriots*, let their Actions declare for them, for the Tree is best known by its Fruit. *Patriotism* requires, that a Man should lay aside all Heats, and personal Animosities, and heartily concur in the true Interest of his Country. If he finds the Rulers of it are mistaken, that he should coolly point out their Errors, and the best Method to amend them, and not cavil and still leave them in the wrong Road : And this he ought to do, equally, whether such Rulers happen to be of the Number of his Friends, or not. Is a Country over-run with Debaucheries,

F 2                      Luxury,

Luxury, Corruption, and Discord? *Patriotism* would use its utmost Endeavours to put a Stop to the growing Evils, and would incline its Professors to set the first Example of a Reformation. Is a Nation injured by a Foreign Power? A *true* Spirit of *Patriotism* would join Hands and Hearts to defend it against the Common Foe, and be far from exposing its Weakness and intestine Divisions to the Enemy. Does this Party act in this Manner? Is the Contempt of the Laws, the Pity shewn on the vile Miscreants who suffer for infringing them, the ill Treatment the executive Power are sure to meet with in putting them in Execution: I say, is this *Patriotism*? No, that requires Decency and Order, and a due Submission to all Laws the Legislature shall make, for the Reformation of our Manners, and the well Governing the State. Now let any one consider the infamous Insinuations daily published in the *London Evening-Post*, *Craftsman*, *Common-Sense*, &c. all Papers professedly and avowedly wrote in the Support of this Party, and accordingly patroniz'd by its Members; let them see whether



ther they can reconcile these to the Spirit of *Patriotism*. Is the Despising our own Manufactures, and, for the Sake of a supposed Elegance, the Cloathing ourselves and Families with the Produce of Foreign Countries, by which our own Poor are starved, and theirs employed? Is the Serving our Tables with Wines, and all other Delicacies, from Countries who take nothing from us but Specie, by which the Nation is annually drained of immense Sums? Is this *Patriotism*? Yet these are equally and as glaringly the Actions of this Party, as of the other. But these are, and must be *Patriots*; and if these carry their Elegance to such a Pitch, as to be contented with nothing that is *English*, but are so delicate as to import every Trifle from Abroad, even at the Risque of a Seizure, still by these it is done for the *Love of their Country*. Is there a Man who will deny his Palate, to save his Country's Treasure? Who will dispense with those trifling Niceties of Colour or Fashion in his Apparel and Furniture, that his own Poor may be employ'd? Who will, in himself and Adherents, discourage all Articles of  
Luxury

Luxury and Prodigality? Who will sacrifice his own Pleasures to the Happiness of his Countrymen? And who will exert himself to preserve the Liberty, and restrain the Licentiousness of the People? This Man, and this Man only, deserves the Name of a *Patriot*.

I HAVE dwelt the longer on this Head, because it seems to be a vulgar Error, by such Pains, established and inculcated in you; that your Liberties will be safe, if trusted into the Hands of this Party. I have endeavoured to undeceive you in this Point; and if what I have already said, is not sufficient for that End, I hope the following Facts will fully convince you of the Truth of what has been said, *viz.* That *both* Parties are alike, and their only View is to *attain Power* to make the *same Use* of it. The Facts I allude to, are Transactions that passed in a publick Assembly, where the Majority are notoriously listed in this Party: An Assembly, whose Praise has been trumpeted forth by every Writer of the *Country* Party, who have been called the most uncorrupt Set of Men  
in

in the Kingdom, whose Conduct has even been pointed out as a Pattern for that of our Parliaments, and who strenuously exerted themselves in Behalf of the *Place-Bill*. My Readers, by this Time, will all surmise, that I can mean no other but that of the *Commoners* of the City of *London*, in Common-Council assembled. It is well known, that this Body is composed of the principal Tradesmen of the City, elected to this Trust by their Brethren. Upon Proposals being delivered to this Body, for building the *Mansion-House* for the Residence of their Mayor, they agreed to a Proposal for 17200 *l.* delivered by Members of their own Body, in Opposition to Persons who offered to do the same Work, on the same Conditions, and at least equal Security, for 16975 *l.* They came to a Resolution, that Mr. *John C——ll*, City Carpenter, had been concerned in a Combination to raise the Price of Piling and Planking the Foundation for the said *Mansion-House*, and that, by such Combination, he had grossly abused the Office and Trust reposed in him, as a Common-Council Man: Upon this Resolution, they made

made an Order for a Bill to be brought into their Court, to prevent any Member thereof from being concerned in any Works belonging to the City or Bridge-House. A very useful Bill, no doubt, because of many Inconveniences arising from the former Practice. This self-denying Bill, you may be sure, was greatly extolled by their daily Writers; it was called a Sort of *Place-Bill*, and happened much about the Time that the *Place-Bill* in Parliament was in Agitation. Now let us see how this worthy Body behaved on these Occasions: They first employed the same Mr. C——ll to do the Carpenter's Work for the Mansion-House; and upon its being put to the Vote, Whether this Bill should be committed, it passed in the Negative, by a Majority of 75 against 43, almost two to one.

THE Candidates, who will offer themselves to your Choice on this Occasion, will, in all probability, be such, whose chief Merit will consist in the being firmly attached to the *one* or the *other* of these Parties. The Arguments made Use of in publick, to induce



duce you to declare for them, will be drawn from *hence*. The Influences you will receive in private, will be of *another* Kind. But I flatter myself, you will have Virtue enough to resist *both*; it is a sufficient Cause of Rejection, that a Man is lifted in *either* Faction. If your Choice should fall on the first, and you should return a Parliament attached, either by Inclination or Interest, to the Ministry, one single Vote might give up your Liberties, if asked at their Hands: They may either continue themselves, or vote themselves useless, and, by so doing, may put it out of your Power, by any future Attempts to ~~take~~ *take* yourselves, if you need a pretexts Opportunity which is in your Hands. If your Choice should fall on the *last*, and you should return a Parliament of the *Country* Party, you must expect one of these two Things, either that the Prince on the Throne will, or will not, give up his former Ministry: If, on Account of this Party's being a Majority, he should do it, and put their Leaders in the Place, you are just where you were, with the Names only changed, the same Dangers hanging over your Heads: If from Gratitude for past Services, or

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from Steadiness of Temper, he should refuse to do that ; we should soon be in the utmost Confusion, to have a Majority, in the House of Commons, opposing every Scheme of the Ministry, well or ill concerted, and refusing their Assent to the most necessary Acts, for the carrying on the Business of the State : This may push the Ministry into violent Measures, and put them upon taking unwarrantable Steps, in order to prosecute their Projects. If any of the Evils here suggested, should unhappily come to pass, the Body of the Nation, tho' inclined to bear a great deal, before they are drove to such dreadful Extremities, yet, if we may be allowed to judge from their former Conduct on like Occasions, will not be so meek enough to submit without a Struggle. In either Case, the Sword of Civil War will probably be drawn, and, when once drawn, God only knows when it will be sheathed. The Miseries, attending such a Situation, have been too often represented, to want a further Description here, and are too shocking to repeat ; but can be only well known to those who have felt them. Who would fall the first Victims to its Wraths, we cannot tell ; but we all know, that,

that, if Justice were to take Place, it would be those Wretches, who were the first Instruments of betraying our Liberties, and pushing us to such fatal Measures. Fatal, I may well call them, for, in such a Case, whoever succeeds the Nation is sure to bleed: They are Measures which ought never to be entered on, but in the most desperate Circumstances; for the End, when obtained, does but just pay for the Means by which it was brought about. I acknowledge, many great and glorious *Stand*s have been made by the People of this Kingdom, in Defence of their Liberties and their Religion; Success *ended* their former Endeavours, and *promotely* will their future; but will any Man in his Senses, for *that* Reason, rush into so imminent Danger, which he can avoid, and while he has Time to prevent it? Does the most intrepid and successful General, who *rescues* the People at this dreadful Expence, deserve half the Thanks of his Country, which those do, who, by their prudent and wise Conduct, *prevent* these Calamities.

My present Address to you would be needless, if we were drove to these Necessi-

fities at present. No, thank God, it is still  
 in *your* Power to defend us from them, by  
 returning Members for this Parliament,  
 who shall dare to practise Virtue *themselves*,  
 to encourage and countenance it in *others*,  
 and, where that will not reach, to *enforce*  
 it by wholesome Laws, which now you  
 give them the Power of making. As *Vice*,  
 has brought us thus low, so *Virtue*, and  
 that *only*, can raise us. I have now shewn  
 you that the Vices, which this Nation is  
 particularly inclined to in the present Age,  
 are such as have a natural Tendency to ruin  
 and enslave us. In a general national Di-  
 stress, who are mo to feel the first  
 Effects, but the poorest in the Nation :  
 Their present extreme Poverty, and fre-  
 quent Insurrections, are but too sure a Pre-  
 sage of the growing Evil. They, at present,  
 are but slight Eruptions of an inflammato-  
 ry Fever lurking in the Blood ; but when  
 the Evil grows more general, and People  
 of higher Rank fall into the same Distress,  
 which must happen, if Things continue in  
 their present Course ; we have too much  
 Reason to fear, the Consequences will at  
 least be very grievous, if not fatal. I have  
 likewise set before you the Precipice on  
 which



which we stand so near the very Brink, that it is almost in any one's Power to push us down it, even as he passes. There now remains for me to point out to you the most *likely*, and, I may say, the most *certain* Means, to save yourselves and Countrymen; which, if you approve of, it is your Duty to put in Practice with your utmost Resolution and Vigour.

You are then to return Men, who will despise all little factious Cabals, but will make it their constant Care, to consult the Good of the Common-weal, and provide for the Glory and <sup>y</sup>, who of the Nation, to the best of their Abilities, let who will be at the Helm of Affairs—<sup>then</sup> who will be provident of the publick Treasure—who will be watchful over the Liberties of the People—who will encourage Industry in our own Manufactures—who will provide for the necessary Charges of the Government, in such Manner as may least annoy our Trade at Home and Abroad—who will not suffer Foreigners to insult us, or our own People to insult the Laws. If you let slip *this* Opportunity, you may never have *another*. Let the Intreaties

treaties and Supplications of your Countrymen prevail on you, to look upon them with an Eye of Pity, and give them that Security of their Liberties and their Properties, which they now ask at your Hands. In order to be able to assert this, it is your Duty to look out with the greatest Circumspection, among your Neighbourhood and Acquaintance, for Men, whose real Characters you may get at the Knowledge of, and who, through the whole Tenour of their Lives, have shewn, that they have acted from Principles of Honour and Virtue; Men of unblemished Characters, beloved in their Country Defence in their Families have been tender to their Wives and Children. <sup>have</sup> <sup>agents</sup> <sup>acted</sup> the Part of indulgent Masters and <sup>landlords</sup>—Men, who have their Ears and Hearts open, to hear and relieve the Wants of the industrious Poor, and have Activity and Spirit enough to pursue and correct the idle and vagrant; a Distinction of the utmost Consequence to a trading Nation, but which few know how to make properly—Men, who have managed their own Affairs with Prudence and Oeconomy, and the Affairs of others committed to their Charge, with Uprightness and

and Integrity—Men, who in their publick Capacities, if they have ever acted in that Character, have protected the Weaker against any Oppressions of the Stronger, and have always impartially rewarded Merit, and punished Villainy, in whomsoever either has been found; and who have never suffered themselves to be deterred, from pursuing the upright Purpose of their Heart, either by the Smiles or Frowns of the Great, but have always considered the first, as useless to promote, as the last are impotent to lessen, the Happiness of an honest Mind---Men, who, in fine, have proved themselves *tender Husbands, kind Fathers, indulgent Masters, & Landlords, just Guardians, upright Ju* and to be of a *humane and benevolent* disposition towards their *whole Species*. These are Characters you can easily get to the Knowledge of, and which, I hope, are not so uncommon, but that every one of you know some Man, who can with Justice say, he has some Pretensions to deserve; and yet, I fear, are too rare, to distract your Choice by Numbers. These are the only proper Recommendations for Men, who are to be elected into a publick Trust: For such  
Men

Men as these *can* save us, and such as these *will* save us; therefore, such as these you ought to draw by Force into the Service of their Country on this Occasion: For who is so likely to be provident of the *publick Treasure*, as he who has been an Oeconomist of his *own*? Who is so likely to ease and redress the Wants and Grievances of the Poor in his *publick* Capacity, as he, who has opened his Purse to them in his *private*? Who is so proper a *Guardian* of the *Publick*, as he, who has shewn himself just to his *Wards* in *private*? Who is so fit to protect our Liberties in *Parliament*, as he, who has already done it on the *Bench*? For from whom may we expect a true and resistless and oppose any Encroachments of the greater on the poorer, in a *Parliamentary* Capacity, but from that *Man*, who, in his private Station, has always bravely withstood their Influence? In such Hands your *Liberties*, your *All*, will be safe; and the Circumstances you will necessarily find yourselves in, at the End of a seven Years *Parliament*, composed of such Members, will be most certainly preferable to any that you have yet felt, or can possibly make to yourselves, from



from any present Advantage whatever to be made, from an unworthy Choice : Your Trade will be in a flourishing Condition, your Taxes lessened, and those that remain put on an easier Footing. The frequent, nay constant Experience you have had from your Conduct in former Elections, and your Circumstances not being bettered by such Choice, ought, one should imagine, to put you upon trying some new Expedient : If any other Method seems to you better calculated to this End, than this proposed, in God's Name follow it, but follow it with Vigour and Honesty ; do but attain *the End*, and whatever *Means* you pursue, will be equally acceptable to all your Well-wishers. But let not artful and designing Men dissuade you from such a Choice, on Pretence of Want of Abilities in the Persons you shall pitch upon : In the first Place, it is absurd to suppose, that Men, conducting themselves uniformly with such Discretion, should want Abilities ; in the next, if that should be the Case, the Want of Virtue and Disinterestedness is a much more dangerous Thing : Besides, in what Situation are great Abilities chiefly wanted ? To conduct a bad Cause ; to hide

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over evil Designs; to preserve Government amongst a People who are not well persuaded of the good Intentions of their Governors; to find out plausible Reasons of Acting, when they dare not avow the true ones. Honesty stands in need of no such Supports, it dares do what is right, and dares assign the true Reason for so doing: And the People will soon be convinced of the Benefits arising from such a Government.

I HAVE now fully represented to you the Dangers which surround you, and have shewn you one Path by which you may escape. If your own Interest, joined to the Welfare and Prayers of your Fellow-Subjects, will not move you to exert yourselves in *this*, perhaps *last*, Opportunity you shall ever have of extricating yourselves; what shall I say to you? What can I call you? *Men* you cannot be. Shew but the least Desire of making a disinterested and honest Choice, and you will have the Heads, the Hearts, the Hands of the Nation to assist you; who will at present look on you with Pleasure; attend your Steps with Blessings and Prayers for Success  
in

in all your Undertakings, which at least you will merit ; and will shew you to their Posterity, and record you as the Preservers of your Country. These are Satisfaction, which, perhaps, are the only ones, greater in the Enjoyment, than in the Expectations. Would any Set of Men in their Senses barter away these Pleasures? For what, for their Reverse? To become the Scorn and Outcast of the present Age, and the Reproach of future. But I have said too much, this cannot be. I indulge myself in the Thoughts, that I shall see you on this very critical Occasion behave like  
**ENGLISH** and new yourselves Men who have *Virtue* enough to wish to be, and *Spirit* enough to dare try to be, *uncorrupt, disinterested*, and consequently **F R E E**.

## POSTSCRIPT.

I CANNOT dismiss you, without making some Apology; which, perhaps, may be thought necessary by some of my Readers, for the Offence I may have given them, by that Freedom of Speech, and Boldness of Expression, which I have use through this whole Address.

I hope I have charged no Set of Men wrongfully; if I shall be thought to have done it, I declare it unwisely, and undesignedly. I have no Enmity to any one Man, or any Body of Men living; and, if I have been too severe, it is only on the corrupt and violent Partisans of both Sides: At least, thus much must be said for me, that I have been impartial. As for all those, by whatever Name they have been distinguished, &c. who have preferred the Dictates of their Reason, to all other Views, I hope I have ascribed to them all due Praise; I am sure no one honours them more than I do; and it is merely to increase their Numbers, that I have prevailed



vailed on myself to take my Pen in Hand.  
 The Setting the Faults of *both* Parties in  
 one View, I apprehended, might be use-  
 ful towards attaining this desirable End ;  
 I hope, that, as *each* sees the Errors of his  
 own Side, he may be prevailed on, to bear,  
 with more Patience, the Failings of the  
*other* ; and on that Account, to forbear all  
 Virulence and violent Expressions, and  
 so heartily join their Endeavours to pro-  
 mote the Good of the *Whole*. But if it is  
 still asked me, why I am so severe, tho'  
 not undeservedly ; I answer, *That* I thin,  
 the Time is come, that it is proper you  
 should be undeceiv<sup>ed</sup> *atives* have  
 been long enough used, and it is absolute-  
 ly necessary, that the Wound should be  
*probed to the Bottom*, tho' the Operation  
 may be painful. You have been long im-  
 posed on, and been told that all your Griev-  
 vances proceed from your Governors, and  
 the Corruption of your Parliaments. Per-  
 haps, Affairs might have been conducted  
 more to your Liking, and with greater  
 Disinterestedness. But what Right have  
 you to expect Uprightness in your *Repre-*  
*sentatives*, when you are negligent in your  
*Choice* of them ? Are yourselves the only  
 Set

Set of Men that are *licensed* to be corrupt?  
 Or are you to look for Honesty in the Par-  
 liament-House *only*? It is necessary honest  
 Men should speak out before it is too late.  
 Amend *yourselves*, that it is in *your* Power  
 most certainly to do; and be assured, that,  
 unless a greater Stock of Virtue springs up  
 among the People of this Nation, we are  
 an undone People, and, till that happens,  
 all Attempts to relieve ourselves will prove  
 fruitless and vain. I hope these Considera-  
 tions will induce all impartial Men to for-  
 give me for my Bluntness: and then the  
 Animadversions of the *best* Men of ei-  
 ther Party, *me have* very little  
 Pain, being prepared for them, before I  
 undertook this Address.



**F I N I S.**